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Joseph Henry Thayer: "You missed Dr. Thayer. He called here for half an hour—a most bright, vigorous man." In a letter of September 15, 1886, to Archbishop Benson he writes: "I have been reading for the tenth time Emerson's Essays, and trying to see his world. I find it very hard—harder than to bring the world which I do see into a tendency towards harmony." In a letter to the *Times*, April 6, 1889 (II, 20), he quotes Emerson.

Should not (I, 228) *Neuss* be *Reuss*, and (I, 47) *Vansittart* be *Van Sittart*? As for Van Sittart, the editor yields elsewhere to the notions of men as to their own names, as, for instance, W. H. B. folkes (I, 195). The spelling Whittard (I, 8, ll. 2 and 4), is apparently a misprint.

It is regretted that in this as in other English books men of title, and in particular church dignitaries, are only named by their titles. What foreigner is able to say just who was the bishop of Chester in just the given year? At the moment many Englishmen know; after a few years many do not know, and are able to fix the person only by means of research. The title is well enough for official acts. In modern life, in modern Saxon literature, the man should be given. He himself (II, 69) speaks of a letter received addressed to Mr. B. F. *Dunelm*, which shows that the writer took his title for his name.

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INTUITIONAL INTERPRETATION OF THE PSALMS.

THE first thing which attracts the attention of the reader of this book¹ is the "revised text" from which the translation is made. To understand the grounds of the revision fully one must follow the peculiar development of Professor Cheyne's theories with regard to Jerahmeel and northern Arabia. Following certain suggestions of the Assyriologist Winckler, Cheyne makes every reference to Egypt apply to a region of northern Arabia, supposed to bear the same or a very similar name, Muṣr or Muṣri, and references to Assyria or Babylonia receive a similar treatment. This Muṣri was probably in vassalage to the larger empire of Meluḥḥa, which is frequently referred to in the Old Testament writings under the name of Asshur or Ashḥur.

¹ *The Book of Psalms*. Translated from a revised text with notes and introduction. In place of a second edition of an earlier work (1888) by the same author. By T. K. CHEYNE. 2 vols. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1904. lxxx + 336, 246 pages.

It is assumed in the present work that the deportation of the Jews which has left most traces on the later writings of the Old Testament was, not to Babylonia, but to that part of N. Arabia which was called by the Jews Jerahmeel or the Negeb. (Pp. xiv, xv.)

Such deportation was, according to Professor Cheyne, "no uncommon fate of the Israelite and Judahite population." Sections of the population experienced such deportation several times at the hands of northern Arabian kings, and Jerusalem itself was taken and the temple destroyed probably more than once. It is a highly plausible view that

there were also ancient Hebrew writings which referred to Assyrian deportations of Israelites and Judahites, and to a Babylonian deportation of Judahites. (P. xvi.)

But that was long before the days of the Psalms, and it is impossible that there should be any real references in the Psalms to such ancient history. The later redactors of the Psalms were aware that there had been such deportations and

manipulated the texts before them, so that they should seem to refer to Assyria or Babylon . . . but it is improbable that they had any evidence of this except tradition. (P. xvi.)

The Psalms, according to Professor Cheyne, came from so late a period that they can "present no distinctly Babylonian colouring." The calamity that they refer to must be a north Arabian oppression, and we may, therefore, assume at once that any reference to Babylonian oppression, to the Assyrians, or, going still farther back, to Egyptian bondage, is due to the archaistic fancy of redactors who, for somewhat recondite psychological reasons, have substituted in all cases for references to northern Arabian oppression allusions to Babylonia, Assyria, or Egypt.

Corresponding to this change of history we have a similar change of geography. The geographical references in the Psalms are to be connected with the region south of Judah, not with the region north of it, and all references to regions north of Judah must, therefore, be changed into references to the territory southward. Where Bethel is referred to, some sacred site in the Negeb is meant. The Lebanon cannot be the famous mountains of the Lebanon northward of Palestine, but must be something to the south, and, in lieu of anything better, the word Lebanon is changed into Gebalon, supposed to be some mountain or mountains southward, the exact location of which is unknown. The Negeb, for which is substituted the name Jerahmeel, becomes a flourishing and populous region quite unlike the steppe it now is, and which it is commonly supposed to have been in antiquity, on the ground of the references in the Hebrew scriptures. It

abounded in cities and important sites, which have, unfortunately, disappeared so completely from the face of the earth as to leave no traces behind.

To revise the text of the Psalms to fit the new history and the new geography, the main outlines of which have been sketched above, Professor Cheyne has not resorted to any known methods of text-criticism, such as comparison of the versions, study of meters, etc., but to pure intuition. I doubt if any text was ever so radically revised, and revised on such entirely subjective grounds of preconceived theory, as the text of the Psalms supposed to underlie this translation, but not actually presented to the eye in this volume. A couple of examples from the translation will suffice to show the character and extent of the revision. Let us take first the second stanza of the beautiful forty-second psalm. Here is the translation given by Cheyne in 1888, in that edition of the book of Psalms of which, according to the title-page, this present volume is to take the place:

My soul upon me is bowed down; therefore will I think upon thee
 from the land of Jordan and of Hermonim, from the little mountain.
 Flood calls unto flood at the sound of thy cataracts,
 all thy breakers and billows have gone over me:
 (Yet) will Jehovah by day give charge to his lovingkindness,
 and in the night will his song be with me,
 even a prayer unto the God of my life.
 Let me say unto God my rock, "Why hast thou forgotten me?
 why go I as a mourner amidst the oppression of the enemy?"
 Like rottenness in my bones, my foes reproach me,
 whilst all day long they say unto me, Where is thy God?
 Why art thou bowed down, my soul, and why moaning upon me?
 wait thou for Jehovah, for unto him I shall yet give thanks
 as the saviour of my countenance and my God.

Here is the translation from Cheyne's "revised text":

Preserve me, [O Yahwè] my God, | from the tribes of the Arabians,
 From the race of the Jerahmeelites | rescue thou me.
 Rouse thee, O God of my succour; | why dost thou forget me,
 While I walk tremblingly, | the Arabians pressing me hard?
 They stir up wars continually | to consume thy guarded ones;
 The mockeries of those that insult thee— | upon me have they passed.
 As with arrows in my bones | the Misrites insult me,
 While they say to me continually, | Where is thy God?
 O Yahwè! command thy loving kindness, | and send forth thy faithfulness.
 Why faintest thou, my soul? | why frettest thou within me?
 Wait on for Yahwè, that he may cause me to see | the habitation of God.

Unless the reader were told that these two are translations of the same original, he would surely perceive no connection between them; and, even after one is told, it is a difficult task to establish such connection. Cheyne's translation of 1888 is substantially the translation given by all Hebrew scholars; that is to say, while the translations of different scholars differ in details, the general substance of all is the same. But as the text of this psalm is somewhat difficult, and therefore lends itself the more readily to emendations and suggestions, we will turn next to a psalm extremely simple in its character, the text of which offers practically no difficulties, while the meaning seems to lie upon its face. The twenty-ninth psalm is a description of a thunderstorm, in which the thunderclaps are represented by the familiar Jewish phrase for thunder, "the voice of Yahaweh." We will give first a translation which represents in sense the general consensus of scholars:

Give to Yahaweh, sons of God,
Give to Yahaweh glory and strength.
Give to Yahaweh his glorious name,
Worship Yahaweh in holy apparel.

Yahaweh's voice above the waters!
The God of glory thundereth,
Yahaweh above great waters.

Yahaweh's voice with might!
Yahaweh's voice with majesty!
Yahaweh's voice breaking cedars!

Yahaweh breaketh the cedars of Lebanon:
He maketh Lebanon skip like a calf,
And Sirion like a young wild ox.

Yahaweh's voice cleft flames of fire;
Yahaweh's voice shaketh the desert,
Yahaweh shaketh the desert of Kadesh.

Yahaweh's voice boweth hinds in travail,
It strippeth the forests.
In his palace all cry, Glory!

Yahaweh sat above the flood;
Yahaweh sitteth king forever.
Yahaweh give his people strength!
Yahaweh grant his people peace!

Here is Professor Cheyne's translation of the same in his present volume:

1. Ascribe unto Yahwè, O ye sons of Jerahmeel,
Ascribe unto Yahwè glory and strength:
Ascribe glory, O ye Ishmaelites, unto Yahwè,
Worship Yahwè, Rehoboth and Cush.

The voice of Yahwè + sounds + over the great waters,
[Yahwè,] the God of glory, thunders:
[His] voice Yahwè [utters] with power!
[His] voice Yahwè [utters] with majesty!

- The voice of Yahwè breaks the cedars,
10. Yahwè shatters the cedars of Gebalon (?);
He causes Gebalon to skip like a calf,
Sirion like a young wild ox.

The voice of Yahwè cleaves [the rocks,]
[The stones he cleaves with] fiery flashes;
The voice of Yahwè makes the wilderness to tremble,
The wilderness of Kadesh Yahwè makes to tremble.

The voice of Yahwè shakes the oaks to and fro,
[The trees of] the forests Yahwè strips:
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20. [? Ye sons of Zion, exult in your king,]
Ye sons of Jerahmeel, chant hymns to his glory.
His seat Yahwè has taken to judge the world;
For ever will Yahwè hold his seat as king.

There is absolutely no ground in the text and no intelligible reason, as far as anyone but Professor Cheyne can see, for substituting for such familiar Hebrew phrases as "sons of God" or "the gods" "sons of Jerahmeel," or for manufacturing Ishmaelites, Rehoboth, and Cush out of perfectly plain Hebrew expressions. Similar arbitrary and utterly irrational text-changes are introduced in every psalm. In the one hundred and twenty-first psalm, for instance, one of the charming psalms of the Pilgrim Psalter, the simple and natural phrase, "the sun shall not smite thee by day neither the moon by night," is converted by Professor Cheyne into: "Cusham shall not smite thee by day nor Jerahmeel by night."

It was to be expected that the headings of the Psalms would be treated with small respect, and in fact they have undergone a most radical revision,

sometimes with comical results. There is a pretty general agreement that Pss. 120-34 constitute a Pilgrim Psalter, and that the headings of the individual psalms of this collection mean "song of ascents." These were the songs sung by those going up to the feast at Jerusalem. The common Hebrew word translated "ascents" is rejected by Professor Cheyne, apparently because it is an ordinary and readily intelligible word, and something else substituted, which he translates: "Marked. Of the Ishmaelites." Many of the headings of the earlier books are difficult to understand, and have given rise to much discussion and many emendations. These are fair game for Professor Cheyne's methods, but it cannot be said that he has anywhere produced what would seem to ordinary mortals intelligible results. Take, for instance, such a heading as this which he gives for the twentieth and twenty-first psalms: "Deposited. Marked: of 'Arab-ethan.'" What in common-sense does it mean? Of course, the heading "of David," which is so common, especially in the first book of Psalms, is rejected. It is somewhat surprising to find that the headings of the Korah and Asaph collections are allowed to remain moderately unchanged.

I have endeavored to present Professor Cheyne's views of Hebrew history and geography, and his treatment of the Psalter based upon those views, as fairly as possible, but it is really difficult to treat such a book seriously. It is like being in Wonderland. You see some things you know, but they are curiously distorted, and all about you are strange, fantastic creatures—Jerahmeels, Rehoboths, Cushams, and the like—mere whimsies of the author; rabbits speak; the forty-second rule is the first in the book; and finally you realize that the one by whose eyes you see it all can grow short or long at pleasure, by nibbling something he holds in his hand and which no one has but he. That the book has received serious treatment from me is due, not to its contents, but to the fact that Professor Cheyne did, at an earlier date, do admirable work, for which many middle-aged scholars of today are his grateful debtors. It is only the reputation of his past work which justifies a review of the present volume.

It may well be asked how it is possible that a man of such marked intellectual ability and remarkable scholarly attainments, who has done such good work in days gone by, has wandered so far from the paths of common-sense as to reject the natural meaning of simple Hebrew words and substitute in their stead such utterly preposterous imaginations. Casting away the plain, historical and geographical, allusions, of which the Psalms are full, he has invented events and a land of which we have no mention anywhere in the Bible, least of all in the Psalms. It would be interesting, as a psychological problem, to follow the curious developments of critical thought

which have brought Professor Cheyne to his present position. One of the things which influenced him greatly in reaching his present conclusions he sets forth in the introduction—a question “by our theologian-statesman, Gladstone”:

Is it conceivable, if the Psalms in general owed their origin to the time of the Captivity, that the composer of them should, in numerous and conspicuous cases, have dwelt so long and so often over the details of the Egyptian bondage, and should never but once and briefly have made reference, specific indeed but narrow, to the one recent catastrophe, choosing rather to go back to the centuries dimmed in comparison by the interval of a thousand years? (P. xvii.)

Now, Professor Cheyne had already reached the conclusion that the Psalms were throughout of very late origin. He had thrown away everything in the way of external tradition—the arrangement of the Psalms in collections, liturgical headings, and the various evidences of a slow growth extending over a long period of time, during which things once familiar had become altogether unintelligible. Instead of using these external helps to secure dates by which to trace the growth of the collections, he had rearranged the Psalms arbitrarily, according to his own conception of their meaning, putting together in one group psalms of the first and psalms of the last book. He had treated individual psalms practically as though the very latest emendation represented the time of the composition of the psalm. By these methods, reducing everything to a dead level, he had convinced himself that the whole Psalter was written in the late Persian or even in the Greek period. His tendency was to bring the Psalms down to an ever later date. It seemed to him that the religious conceptions and the phraseology of the Psalter compelled this ascription to a very late period. To satisfy the references which he thought he saw he imagined historical events in the Persian period, of which no record had come down; and then set himself, out of the allusions of the Psalter, to reconstruct the history of the Persian period. Following a method which has been far too freely used of late by Old Testament scholars, which began in a reaction against the hidebound conservatism of a former generation, that regarded the Massoretic Hebrew text as possessing in a greater or less degree infallibility, he began to emend difficult passages, and then passages which seemed to him inconsistent with the general sense, not on any known grounds of text-criticism, but according to his own fancy of what, under the conditions which he supposed to have existed, the psalmist might have said.

As Gladstone had pointed out, the text of the Psalms as it has come down to us is full of references to the Egyptian captivity, while there is little specific reference to the Babylonian exile. In point of fact, it is impos-

sible to appreciate the course of Hebrew history and understand the development of the religion of the Jews without reckoning with the Egyptian bondage. Whether it affected the whole people or a small section of the people only, the Egyptian bondage and the deliverance from that bondage made on Israel at the very commencement of its history an impression which was never effaced. Out of that deliverance and the events connected with it Israel came into being. It is alluded to, in one shape or another, in all the traditions of the people. It plays its part in the folklore tales of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and the later prophetic literature is equally full of references to those events. By the time of the Babylonian exile the deliverance from Egyptian oppression had become a convention, an article of faith. Precisely as the old Scotch Covenanters narrated the events of their days in scriptural language, so, one may say, the Jews of later time sang of the conditions of their age in the phraseology of that more ancient experience. This once understood, references to the Babylonian captivity and the distressful conditions of the following period are plainly discernible in many psalms. But, if this reasoning is valid, we must also recognize that the Psalter had its roots in the period preceding the exile.

The proper answer to Gladstone's question is a recognition of the antiquity of the origins of the earlier collections of the Psalter, not the utter rejection of all the historical facts of which we have any knowledge whatsoever, and the invention of a new history and a new geography to fit the supposed references in a new text of the Psalms. Any rational discussion of the Psalms must recognize the slow growth and development of the Psalter. The independent collections must be treated for themselves, the headings of the Psalms must be utilized as external evidences passed down by tradition. I am inclined to think that the ultimate result of Psalter criticism will be, not to bring the whole Psalter down to a very late period, but to carry back its beginnings to an early period; that careful criticism will show how, from small beginnings, in independent collections, with many recastings and much conventionalizing of expressions, and yet withal a conservative retention of terms and references no longer intelligible, the Psalter took its final form, receiving its final recasting, perhaps, in the Maccabaeian period.

These volumes are provided with an index so slight and insufficient that it would probably have been better omitted altogether. Contrasting with the two pages of index, at the close of the second volume we have, after the unpleasant fashion of English publications, over sixty pages of advertisements. These advertisements, bound up with the volume, always remind

me of the stations on the underground railway in London, where I find great difficulty in seeing the insignificant sign giving the name of the station because of the overwhelming mass of large and conspicuous signs of advertising concerns.

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RECONCILIATIONS OF CHRISTIANITY AND SCIENCE.

THE process of adjustment between religious philosophy, Judaistic and Christian, and scientific philosophy has already covered a long period and is like to continue for many years. It has been fraught with much bitter controversy, and many are the misgivings as to the ultimate outcome. One may hear prophecies, on the one hand, of the extinction of religion and the triumph of science, and on the other hand, of the victorious revival of religious faith. The faint-hearted would stay the ark with anxious hands, as it seems to them to totter to its overthrow; others would drive unmindful of the stumbling oxen or the rocky road.

It is not difficult to discern the causes of the controversy. There lies behind it the assumption that the biblical writers were so inspired that whatever they said about the phenomena of nature must be used as true *in the sense prevailing at the time* in the discussions provoked by new discoveries. No attempt seems to have been made to ascertain in what sense these writers meant their statements. Their ideas oftentimes were as far from the current interpretation as that is from the present one.

The general consequence was that those whose business was the interpretation and advocacy of the Scriptures became advocates of the current explanation of natural phenomena, which they believed warranted by the Scriptures, and therefore opponents of the theories put forward by scientific men to include the newly observed phenomena of nature. Thereby religion obtained the reputation, wrongly enough, of being opposed to science. Even learned men, who should have known better, have adopted this unwarranted position, and have described, under such titles as "the conflict between religion and science," a conflict which they and their heedless followers created out of their own misconceptions.

Nor is the case much better when it is assumed that the conflict is one between theology and science, or even between ecclesiasticism and science. The accident that religious men were for a long time almost the only educated men brought them necessarily into the discussions. The conflict,